

# Why 'Proletarian Era'?

According to the great Marxist revolutionary leader Comrade Lenin, the philosopher, teacher and leader of the international communist movement, the present era is the era of disintegration of imperialism and the victory of proletarian revolution. It is in the light of this Leninist teaching, at the living inspiration of Marxism-Leninism, being imbibed with the ideals of proletarian internationalism that "Proletarian era" is making its appearance.

What does the present era signify? Does it mean that all the countries of the world irrespective of their specific conditions, whether they are advanced capitalist, resurgent nationalist, colonial or semi-colonial countries, live today in the phase of proletarian revolution? No; not at all. Rather it means that in any country—be it engaged in the struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist peoples democratic revolution or national liberation movement—it is only the revolutionary proletariat that can unite all the revolutionary forces belonging to different social strata in their struggle for emancipation and can lead these revolutions to their logical culminations. As the worst victim of capitalist exploitation and the system of private & individual ownership over the means of production—it is the proletariat that has emerged today as the most revolutionary class in the society. It is only the working class, the proletariat that can hold high the red banner of revolution. This is why, it is "Proletarian era"—the era of proletarian revolution and the victory of socialism.

It is only the working class party—a conscious, organised and vanguard detachment of the working class—that can lead it to power. It is, therefore, futile to talk of revolution and emancipation

from all sorts of exploitation without building a genuine working class party, a communist party worthy of its name, without its political and organisational leadership being established over the Indian masses and without the correct ascertainment of the co-relationship of the social forces i.e. the phase of revolution of India. "Proletarian era" derives tremendous pride from the fact that it carries with it the glory of being the mouthpiece, a fortnightly organ of the genuine

## Editorial

working class party—the Socialist Unity centre of India.

Leaving aside the question of fighting tooth and nail those political parties which are variant of bourgeois parties and accredited representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, "Proletarian era" will conduct relentless political and ideological battle against all those who have smuggled themselves inside the rank of the militant working class and are acting as the forces of compromise between labour and capital under different shades of revolutionary phrase-mongering.

In India there are some parties who speak loudly of socialism but do not accept Marxism-Leninism rather represent in reality the discredited flag of social democratism,

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# Proletarian Era

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## 15th August

### A Fake Independence for the People

Paradoxical, however, it may sound, fifteenth august is no doubt, a date, which every Indian remembers aridly.

Twenty years back, the country has attained political independence, as a result of its long, anti-imperialist struggle. The main consideration, which the people of the country viewed after independence is a government which would solve the basic problems of food, shelter, education, health and employment.

But unfortunately, after twenty years of Congress rule in the country, it transpires that none of the basic problems have been solved. On the contrary, the hardship of the majority of the countrymen has increased tremendously. The miseries of workmen, peasantry and middle-class know no bound. The class exploitation of the capitalists have expanded manifold. The ruling class, instead of checking this exploitation of man by man, has become a partner in the game. Naturally, one would pause and ponder as to the reason behind this phenomenon.

In spite of the phenomenal emphasis on big business and industry, the country's economy is tottering. Its political and cultural policies are now following the path of regionalism and sectarianism. Even in the field of education it is motivated and are now gradually being channelised

to serve the interest of the ruling capitalist class. The country's major foreign policies are now being dictated and/or guided by the bourgeoisie. In short, the Indian ruling bourgeoisie for the maintenance of the rabid and ruthless class-rule and to protect the interest of their money-bag are gradually surrendering the interest of the nation and the people even to the extent of endangering our hard earned independence to the imperialists.

But why it is so? Why the rulers have reduced the people to beggars?

During the time of our anti-imperialist and nationalist movement, although the country stood like a single-file against the foreign oppression, but consciously or unconsciously, the cause of the workmen, peasantry and the middle-class, which forms the vast majority of the population of our country, remained unnoticed or unaccounted for. The then

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## Some Questions Confronting The U. F. Government

The people of West Bengal are constrained to note that there have been several instances of violation and departure from the professed stand of the United Front Government to carry out its work during the last few months. With the extension of the Arms Act in some parts of the northern districts of this state, with an aim to curb the legitimate peasant movement in Naxalbari and other areas, this central intervention in the state affairs was not only not severely opposed but was warmly welcomed by the reactionary section of leadership within this Government who still do not hesitate to stand openly by the side of jotedars and other vested circle. Whatever may be the assurances given by our Chief Minister that this act, even if allowed, will not infringe the affairs of this state, are the people wrong to observe that whenever the 'trouble' appears in the form of genuine democratic movements and is felt by certain vested people, the centre will find no difficulties at all to gain a foothold in this state, anywhere, anytime?

But it simply does not stop there. What about the recent cabinet decision to give unfettered rights to the local police authorities to restore law and order in the disturbed areas? Was not this decision a sort of betrayal to the people's cause? One may be astonished to note that excepting the Labour Minister, Mr. Subodh Banerjee, all other ministers approved this action. How did the C.P.I. (M) and C.P.I. ministers behave then? The C.P.I. and specially the left C.P.I. who have suddenly become the stout defenders of democratic rights of the people, did not oppose the Chief Minister on his scheme to send police force to frustrate the movement. But one thing they did not hesitate to oppose as a 'responsible minister, to discharge their loyal functions! They opposed our proposal which is to treat the whole thing politically by rallying all the political forces present in the ministry, organising committees in the localities and by no means allowing the police to behave in his own way. So far as the information is received, these 'responsible'

ministers including the C.P.I. and C.P.I. (M) most democratically decided to oppose it, and some even ridiculed the suggestion. Is it not a far more ridiculous thing that those who supported this police onslaught, are now conveni-

By  
Biplab Sen

ently opposing the Chief Minister as if he is the sole schemer? Are the C.P.I. Ministers of both the so-called militant and revisionist shades somehow managed to forget that the police does excess all the time and they had this knowledge previously from their rank and file who had bitterly tasted it in all types of democratic movements? Is it ignorance or sheer dishonesty on the part of such leaders to champion now the cause of the peasant struggle and condemn police action when they themselves have allowed the police the unfettered right to tackle the situation?

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so-called communist leadership have failed in their attempt to understand the effective merit of the situation and remained isolated from the mainstream. The crux of the situation for all practical purposes was never handled properly. It is quite evident that the cause of the toiling million could not be redressed by the bourgeoisie. The truth is that the working people should be trained in a manner as would ensure leadership in them and the seizure of power to follow. The toiling mass cannot depend upon the bourgeoisie for their betterment, who will eventually utilize the struggle to their class advantage. The present moribund condition of the country is the result of the unimaginative left leadership. The so-called communists could not combine the core of the struggle of the working class with the nationalist movement and to them the gravity of the situation was either lost or simply overlooked. As a result, they have allowed the nationalist bourgeoisie to prevail upon and to take up the leadership of the masses. This bourgeois leadership, in turn, when assumed power, as expected, pursued an anti-people and pro-capitalist policy in spite of their passionate pledges and promises.

Thus, we find, within the frame-work of the constitution, they have adopted various coercive measures to suppress the popular democratic movement within the country and have become junior partners of western imperialists, in their international trusts & cartels and are busy in exploiting the markets of his own as well as that of other countries, which are relatively economically backward.

The cause of the workmen, peasantry and the middle-class are therefore frustrated. It has not been possible for the leaders as yet to improve the condition of the people. The political horizon is dizzy and is in total jeopardy. Individuals or groups impassionately start

denouncing the others. A crisis has let loose all over the country.

Admittedly, under the present political condition, aggrieved people has been able to dislodge some states from the lacunae of Congress rule in the last general election. The solid stone has started cracking at last! But that is not all. The struggle has not ceased as yet.

It is no use denying that a non-Congress United Front Government has got many limitations and they have to contend with the present constitutional frame-work, which has by now become crystal clear that it serves only the interest of the ruling capitalist class. The centre, which the Congress still retains, will not behave or react favourably for any radical change. They will stiffen and even can take drastic measures to deter the cause of the working class.

Still, we will expect an United Front Government will not surrender to circumstances and will avoid the path of disruption. It should be the duty of such a government to unleash the legitimate movement of the working class and to weave their support to insulate it against any attack open or subtle.

This necessitates a clear-cut conception as to how to approach the question of legality and legitimacy. To quote Com. Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of our party "Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that everything legal is not always justified and moral. Naturally, everything illegal in the eye of the law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral." This is the only correct guideline before the Marxist-Leninists to resolve the question of furthering the cause of revolution while working in a government hamstrung by bourgeois constitution.

Our objective, the emancipation of the toiling masses and to come out from the yoke of capitalist exploitation should be the guiding line. Social Unity Centre of India, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, with all good and firm intention is trying hard to achieve it. Inquilab Zindabad!

# Unique Rally By D. S. O. Hold High the Banner of Demand : Withdrawal of 'Seat Restriction Scheme' Declared Pledges

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( By a Staff Reporter )

Calcutta Aug. 1. '67. It was an august day, a day of firm resolve for the students of West Bengal. It was an organised ventilation of the long standing and genuine grievances of the students for the withdrawal of "seat restriction scheme" which is now in vogue, in West Bengal, at the instance of the U. G. C. as a result of which the authorities of schools and colleges cannot admit any student in their institutions beyond a certain limit. Not a single educationist will be found in this state who can assert with responsibility after a period of not less than a decade that this scheme has been able to bring about even a grain of improvement in the standard of education or quality of the students, for which avowed objective the scheme was said to be originally intended.

Positively, of course, this seat-restriction scheme very soon became the source of great headache for a very large number of guardians and students in view of the fact that the existing arrangement of accomodation could not cope up with the influx of students of West Bengal. The only tangible outcome that could, therefore, be felt by the people was that a large number of students was denied any chance of admission in school and colleges for no fault of their own. News paper reports of the past few years will bear a glaring testimony to this unbearable situation.

This is the background behind the movement launched by the All India Democratic Students' Organisation. Along with the establishment of U. F. Government in West Bengal it was only natural that much enthusiasm was raised in the

minds of the students expecting that at least those measures would be implemented in the educational field, whatever may be the limitation of capitalism, which were feasible for the Government and beneficial for the students.

But unfortunately, of course, other than declaring some financial benefits mainly in the form of dearness allowance to the teaching staff no radical measure has yet been taken in the field of education by the U. F. Government. Under the pressure of circumstances and distressed at the sad performance of the U.F. Govt. in this particular field the D. S. O. had no other alternative than to take initiative to build up a broad based movement of the students on educational demands.

On 11th May last, the All India D.S.O. submitted a 52-Point memorandum covering all aspects of educational problems to the Chief Minister and the Education Minister. On 20th July last another memorandum was placed in which the demand for withdrawal of seat restriction was mainly stressed upon along with the demands of opening of (a) more schools and colleges and (b) night and morning shifts in the existing ones. Similar memoranda were submitted to the Vice-Chancellors of Calcutta and Burdwan University and to the Principals of different colleges. These memoranda contended that the main object of the seat restriction scheme was to minimise the number of educated unemployed which could only be brought into being by the curtailment of education.

Apprehending mounting pressure of student movement the U. G. C. has ultimately, agreed to the appeal of

And now the people would like to ponder a bit on what they received in the many fronts. The food problem is assuming an alarming proportion, but still, the people who are starving and groaning, have not yet lost the patience to listen attentively to the remarkable advice of the food Minister, Mr. P. C. Ghosh that to search for food, we must not search for 'isms', we should rather search for American help. The other Ministers except Com. Subodh Banerjee were wiser in the sense that they did not put forth such a brilliant counsel, some of them cannot, but most of them could not give any concrete idea as to how to meet the crushing food problem. People may justifiably ask this question to the Cabinet Ministers—what is preventing them to accept the suggestion of Com Banerjee for monopoly procurement by the Govt. and to set up immediately the machinery for all out state trading so that the aman

the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University to increase the number of seats by 15% for this year just to bypass the main problem at issue, of course satisfying the demands of all other student organisations (excepting D.S.O. the only student organisation that demanded total abolition of the scheme) who did not protest against this scheme at the time of its introduction but opposed its evil effect probably with the object of maintaining leadership over the student community.

The State Education Minister, Mr. Jyoti Bhusan Bhattacharya was reported to have not explained the policy of the U. F. Govt. on this issue but assured the waiting students to inform the U. G. C. authorities of these demands.

crops can be fully procured by the Govt. without any difficulty, other than allowing the jotedars, hoarders, and the rice dealers freehand for crop racketeering. As regards the prices of all essential commodities it is still soaring high. In the education field apart from increasing a bit the salaries of teachers, no concrete proposal to democratise the administration of different educational institutions, reform the educational system etc. has yet been found. And what about the much publicized declaration of the U. F. Government about controlling bureaucracy not allowing the police to intervene in the democratic and legitimate mass movement on the plea of maintaining law and order as they usually did as an appendage of the privileged classes during the Congress rule.

And the latest circular, as reported in the press, made by our Chief Minister instructing the District Magistrates that processions with lathis, bows, arrows, spears, and such other weapons, should not be allowed. If necessary orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. should be enforced and anyone violating such orders should be arrested. These instructions should be strictly followed." People cannot forget so soon, that it stands in complete contradiction with what has been pledged openly before the masses that this new ministry shall not only not allow the police to interfere in legitimate mass movements but shall actively encourage and develop all the democratic movements. As far as the report goes the present circular which is vitally important from the point of view of mass movements was issued by the Chief

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# FIGHT CAPITALISM

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act as the stooges of imperialism and fan up national jingoism of the worst type, "Proletarian era" is convinced of the fact that without putting an end to social democratism it is impossible to put an end to capitalism. To fight against these forces, to give constant exposure to the masses of their mockery of revolutionary phrase mongering and so-called militant gestures will be considered a paramount responsibility on our part.

There are some others who not only clamour about socialism but also claim to accept Marxism-Leninism. But the problem with these forces is that they do not feel slightest obligation towards proletarian internationalism nor do they consider themselves to be communists. They are not the camp-followers of international communism and have been found in every crucial moment to completely submit to and join in the chorus of national jingoism. Ours will be a fight against these forces as well.

The third category broadly represents those forces which not only accept Marxism-Leninism but owe their allegiance to proletarian internationalism—the forces that deem themselves to be communists and who still enjoy, rightly or wrongly, the con-

Parties like C. P. I. (M) and C. P. I. view their relations with international authority (be it the Chinese Communist Party or the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) to be somewhat formal instead of being dialectical which alone can guide the inter-party relation of the communists of different countries. In the absence of this dialectical relationship—which presupposes the elements of both unity and struggle in inter-party relationship and also recognises the role of every communist party, representing revolutionary proletariat of the respective countries, to contribute creati-

vely in policy making matters of international collective leadership—the acceptance of an international authority is bound to degenerate into blind authoritarianism resulting in the development of a very mechanical outlook. About the justification of this observation "Proletarian era" intends to throw light from time to time in future.

"Proletarian era" considers that it is the duty of a genuine communist party of a particular country to analyse and decide independently the situation of that country on the basis of their own an-

behaving in a parrot-like manner, copying international authority blindly or its has been able to concretise the experience of Marxism—Leninism in its own soil being enriched by the teachings of different international Marxist-Leninist authorities. If an independent analysis about a particular country made by the genuine communist party of that country is in conformity with that of the international leadership—it is very good. But if not, then it will be the bounden duty of that particular party to come into struggle with the international leadership in order to arrive at a collective decision quite distinct from so-

## ISOLATE SOCIAL DEMOCRATISM

called common agreement reached generally by adjustment and patchwork. This does not mean rejection of international leadership at all; moreover this is the only correct method to strengthen the collective whole.

It will be the solemn task of "Proletarian era" to concretise the experience of Marxism—Leninism on Indian soil, to contribute such valuable things in the storehouse of Marxism that will guide not only the Indian revolution but will also make positive contribution to the communist movement of the world. In

pletely failed to reflect the reality of the socio-economic-political situation of the country. They forget that India is not a semi-feudal or semi-colonial state—it is distinctly a bourgeois national sovereign state of highly centralised character. These people advocate non-capitalist path of development without breaking down the existing well established capitalism. They gloss over the significant change that took place along with the transference of political power into the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie.

These pseudo-Marxists very often forget that agricultural economy as such does not mean feudal economy. They also fail to understand that the nature of land ownership—be it nationalisation of land, individual land farming, co-

operative farming or small equitable land holding—does not determine the character of agricultural economy. The character of agricultural economy depends on the nature of commerce and production and more specifically on the relations of production. Judging on the anvil of this Leninist analysis one could easily find that Indian agricultural economy has been completely transformed into capitalist one. Apart from the question of concentration of land in the hands of the few, who are no longer Zamindars but rich peasants and who have already transformed themselves into rural bourgeoisie, the question of tremendous increase in the number of agricultural labourers, and the question of transformation of agricultural produce into the commodity of capitalist national market—few more points need thorough and clear-cut understanding. That the agricultural produce has lost today the character of pre-capitalist commodity meant for localised market and has assumed the character of capitalist commodity meant for national capitalist

## UNMASK PSEUDO-COMMUNISM

fidence of a section of our people as communist. This section may be classified into two categories:

(i) Those who have international recognition behind them and (ii) those who are still unrecongnised by any international authority. To put it more concretely, the former is represented by the parties like C.P.I. (M) and C.P.I. and the latter by Socialist Unity Centre of India ventilating its opinion for the first time through this new medium, the new organ—the "Proletarian era."

alysis and assessment of the international situation. We are convinced of the fact that no party can lead today any revolution to its logical culmination unless it has been able to concretise the experience of Marxism-Leninism in its own soil, unless it has anything to contribute in the store-house of Marxism—Leninism, unless it has a positive role in the formation of the international collective leadership. Only from this one can ascertain whether in the name of Marxism-Leninism a party is actually

that event the futility of the approaches of all other pseudo-Marxists will be thoroughly exposed without which it is impossible to pave the way for the emergence of a real revolutionary collective leadership with its concrete expression which alone can lead our revolutionary masses to power.

Now something about the present Indian situation. Those people who think in terms of anti-feudal anti-imperialist peoples democratic revolution in India either directly or through a phase of national democracy have com-

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Call of the "Solidarity Day"

# RESIST AMERICAN RAVAGERY IN VIETNAM

All over the world, the progressive, democratic freedom loving people have observed the Vietnam solidarity day on 20th July last with high enthusiasm and solemn dignity. On this day, the day, of the 13th Anniversary of the historic Geneva Conference, the agreements of which have been ruthlessly violated by the Yankee imperialists, let us take this solemn oath in the name of the freedom loving people of the world, that our struggle should never cease till the people all over the world are completely liberated from the clutches of the imperialists and their puppets.

We feel proud to express our deep solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. We can never forget even for a single moment that the fight of the people of Vietnam is our fight, the cause to which they have dedicated their lives is our cause, the goal which they earnestly wish to achieve after smashing down the imperialists, is our goal, the cherished goal of all the freedom fighters of the world.

We condemn with deep hatred and utmost indignation these atrocious acts of the Yankee butchers, and call upon the people throughout the world to unite and stand by the side of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against this butchery. In fact human vocabulary lacks appropriate language for condemning the atrocities of the Yankee imperialists, the fascists of the land of Uncle Sam, the American warmongers, who have started a large-scale brazen aggressive war on the people of Vietnam.

## U. S. Gangsterism

This arrogant challenge of the U. S. imperialists against the peace loving people all over the world in general and the freedom loving people of Vietnam and other socialist countries in particular should

be boldly and squarely faced with. All freedom fighters in

*"The U.S. Government has unleashed the war of aggression in Vietnam. It must cease this aggression. That is the only way to the restoration of peace. The U.S. Government must stop definitely and unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw from South Vietnam all American and satellite troops, recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs. Such is the basic content of the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which embodies the essential principles and provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. It is the basis of a correct political solution to the Vietnam problem."*

different countries should unite together and give such a lesson to these warmongers, that these war criminals of the West understand what is what. They should be forced to realise that the more frenziedly they escalate war, the more crimes they commit, the more they will not only increase the hatred of the whole peace loving humanity of the world, but more and more they will also be digging their own graves.

The whole human generation of this century with the exception of the few imperialist and their stooges, are condemning the rabid atrocities of these imperialists who by launching an aggressive war in Vietnam in the name of defending the so-called 'free world'

have actually violated all the international laws and charters.

Even in America increasingly the people are becoming conscious of the fact that in the

By:

Subir Basu Ray

name of defending the so called 'world of freedom and democracy' America is actually pursuing a policy of aggressive war and gangsterism and so people all over the world from Japan to America are expressing in one voice their deep hatred against these fascists and demanding immediate withdrawal of American and other imperialist armies from Vietnam who are engaged in a

—HO CHI MINH

'pious duty' of aggressive war along with their big brother, Johnsonians.

They are condemning in one voice and reflecting in their tone an uncompromising fighting attitude towards the American imperialists whose aggressive war is against the Vietnamese people for it is a world that is struggling for liberation, the success of which will pose a danger to the neo-colonial efforts of the U.S. imperialists.

In this context, we firmly affirm that we have a great task ahead. In this age of proletarian era, the freedom fight of the Vietnamese people is of great revolutionary significance to us.

**Fraternise with the Freedom Loving People of Vietnam.**

We are well convinced

that the ultimate victory of the Vietnamese people will not only liberate them from the clutches and tentacles of the imperialists and their stooges, but this will also ensure, to a very great extent, the emancipation of the downtrodden people in different countries under the capitalist and imperialist rules. The victory of the heroic people of Vietnam will set a glorious example in the human history and will be a landmark in the history of human civilisation struggling through the ages for the liberation of the mankind from the oppressors and the exploiters. This glorious and heroic battle of the Vietnamese people and their ultimate victory over the imperialists will encourage the freedom fighters in different countries engaged in ceaseless battles against their oppressive rulers. But so far as our tasks are concerned we have a greater task to perform.

**India Government's Performance—an abject surrender to imperialism.**

In India, our solidarity with the Vietnamese people has been till now mostly manifested in organising some formal rallies and demonstrations only. But this is not enough. In all countries throughout the world and especially in countries like India, just emerged from imperialist and foreign rules militant mass movements should be organised and effective pressure should be maintained over the national Govts. of these countries, so that they are forced to condemn unequivocally the atrocities of the U.S. imperialists. They should be forced to cut off all sorts of cultural, educational, economic relations with U. S. A. and last but not least even the diplomatic relation if necessary. Only by creating such conditions in these countries we can help our comrades-in-arms in Vietnam who are fighting day and night not only for their freedom but also for the freedom of the

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## On some questions before the U.F. Govt.

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Minister, even without any prior consultation with the other cabinet ministers. The content of the circular indicates the most blatant and flagrant violation of the declared pledges that the U. F. Ministry shall try to curb the bureaucracy, restrain police not to interfere in the legitimate mass movement and support all rightful democratic movements. It is not only violating this sacred principle, which alone distinguishes the U. F. Ministry from the former Congress rule, but is also denying the people the right of demonstration with the traditional weapons commonly associated with their life which even the previous ministry did not dare to intervene. Besides how can the oppressor and the oppressed in this exploitative system, be judged at par? And is it not true that it is the ruling class and their henchmen, who resist the people's movements and cause violence—in face of such resistance will the people remain calm and be their humble guineapigs?

The recent police firing in South Dum Dum which has killed the first worker since the initiation of the new government sufficiently reveals that the firm progressive policy of labour in this state, which has released tremendous hope and aspiration among all workers cannot be pursued smoothly due to the challenging attitude of bureaucracy and the capitalist class. When such is the case, how can the present ministry afford to forget its fundamental approach to the question of law and order that it shall back the mass movements and must not crush it? Besides a deputation was led to the Chief Minister demanding enquiry into this firing incident from any of the concerned ministries, but the way the Chief Minister argued with the deputationists was not

only flagrantly shameless, but showed dangerous signs of capitulation to the side of bureaucracy protecting it from all its mischievous acts and high handedness. We cannot but seriously note his initial hesitation to put an enquiry into this incident. It was only after the intervention of Com. Subodh Banerjee that the Chief Minister agreed upon the institution of an enquiry to be conducted by the Divisional Commissioner, offer of a compensation of Rupees 2000 to the family of the deceased and granting of bails to the workers arrested in this connection.

It is a grave danger that the new government has already shifted much from its former position under the pressure of central government, the bureaucracy, and the vested class. Though it still enjoys tremendous popularity among the masses, and nobody but a few muddleheaded politicians does welcome its dissolution at this moment still it cannot be denied that a serious doubt about the future of the U. F. government is already haunting the minds of the people. It is high time for the U. F. constituent parties and the ministry to decide firmly whether in this way gradually, they will take recourse to the path of the Congress rulers, a path to serve the interest of the bourgeoisie the bureaucracy and the rural vested class to the detriment of the interest of the people or to stand firmly against all odds along with the fighting democratic forces to uphold the banner of their declared pledges.

## VIETNAM

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tal fascistic onslaught and with draw her own army and the allied armies they should cut off all relations with U. S. A., and would also leave U. N. O., which instead of being an instrument for stopping aggressions of the imperialist powers, more and more is becoming an instrument in the hands of U. S. A., and her puppets to frustrate the honest and sincere attempts of the democratic, peace and freedom loving nations to check the unlawful annexations and aggressions of the imperialists violating all sorts of international laws and charters.

Apart from this they should also try utmost to organise militant voice in different countries throughout the world against these fascists.

We urgently call the Soviet leaders to perform these solemn tasks and discharge their obligation and duty to the international liberation struggle. The Soviet leaders should note that if they still fail in discharging their solemn and bounden duty, then the fighting people in different countries engaged in battles against imperialists and capitalists will keep a suspicious eye on them, and will be forced

to question the genuinity of their friendship.

We think, these are the tasks ahead to be performed to ensure the complete and total victory of the Vietnamese people who have reached the threshold of victory practically fighting alone against the most powerful imperialist power of the west.

Let all the fighting peace-marchers and freedom fighters unite to dig the grave of the imperialists in the soil of Asia.

Salute to the freedom fighters of Vietnam! Long Live Vietnam.!!

Read

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Sd/- Sukomal Das Gupta

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## WHY "PROLETARIAN ERA?"

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market. That the labour power of the agricultural labourers, who constitute almost fifty percent of the labour power engaged in agricultural economy, has already become commodity of the capitalist market. All these unmistakably confirm the view that not only there has been infiltration of capitalism in Indian agriculture but also the agricultural economy as such has been transformed into capitalist one notwithstanding its tremendous backwardness in the matter of technique of ploughing i.e. condition of cultivation etc.

These pseudo-Marxists have failed to understand that India has already given birth to, apart from private monopoly capital, state monopoly capital as well. And any student of Marxism cannot but agree that state monopoly capitalism is the rock-bottom foundation of fascism. Not only that; however insignificant it may be in comparison to the western imperialist countries, there is no denying the fact that Indian capitalism has already given birth to finance capital, a distinct feature of imperialist economy. Precisely because of the failure to understand this important phenomenon these pseudo-Marxists fail to realise that Indian bourgeoisie has neither the role of a progressive revolutionary bourgeoisie nor is the Indian bourgeois state a satellite one.

This is why they fail to understand that Indian bourgeoisie has become a partner, although a junior partner, of the international imperialist trusts and cartels. And last but not least is the undeniable fact of the existence of a most centralised and modernised type of capitalist state machinery in India which challenges the validity of the programme of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist peoples democratic revolution. When capitalism is our main enemy, the adoption of the

programme of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist peoples democratic revolution will tantamount to sabre-rattling in air against an imaginary enemy, keeping the main enemy, the bourgeoisie unhurt, unnecessary wastage of energy of the revolutionary forces and, above all, pushing the unorganised revolutionary movements of the masses, quite untimely and helplessly, before the tremendous onslaught of the bourgeois state. Otherwise under the garb of high sounding revolutionary slogan of the leaders it will objectively mean slow and surreptitious surrender to the current of parliamentary reformism.

"Proletarian era" will be failing in its duty, in discharging its historic responsibility if it does not bring in the lime light the following: What is the correct process of formation of a working class party? What is the methodology and process of thinking of a working class party? Why did the Communist Party of India (meaning undivided C. P. I.) which was later on split into C. P. I. (M) and C. P. I. fail to emerge as a genuine communist party inspite of tremendous sacrifice of the rank and file? What is really meant by collective leadership and what are its concrete features? Does not the nature of split inside the undivided C. P. I. leading to the formation of C. P. I. (M) and C. P. I. and then again the recent formation of a group which is openly revolting against the C. P. I. (M) leadership indicate complete lack of sense of collective leadership inside the party—whether in the part or in the whole? Under the circumstances, what are the prospects and possibilities of the leadership of S. U. C. I. over the revolutionary masses of our country? "Proletarian era" will endeavour its utmost to highlight the above points.

It is obvious that one cannot do justice to the questions

## VIETNAM

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whole humanity subjugated by the oppressive rulers.

In India we note with deep regret that an attitude of appeasement and capitulation towards U.S. imperialism is prevailing among a section of the people, of course a minor section indeed. Even when a humanist like Bertrand Russell and a wellknown French philosopher and litterateur like Jean Paul Sartre clearly and unequivocally condemn the American policy of aggression and gangsterism, and when Bertrand Russell at the age of ninety five clearly states that peace can only be achieved by launching a peace offensive bettle against U. S. imperialism the champions of freedom and democracy in our country do not utter a single word of protest against the imperialists. Now will it be a travesty of truth if we say that these people have

raised above unless one is provided with a clear-cut understanding regarding the assessment of the present international situation, communist movement in general and Sino-Soviet relation in particular. We promise to throw light upon these points as well.

Finally, "Proletarian era" considers it to be the bounden duty to support all the struggles of the masses for emancipation and against injustice in any country. We declare our unshakable determination to deem all just struggles of the people of any country to be our struggle and pledge our unflinching patronage behind them. "Proletarian era" is destined to act as the leader of all the struggles of the revolutionary masses. We deserve the support and co-operation of all who stand by the cause of oppressed humanity, the cause of new civilisation, the cause of socialism and proletarian revolution.

Long live Proletarian Era !  
Long live Revolution !!

developed a fear complex of communism to such a superlative degree in magnitude that they have surrendered themselves to the imperialists and serving as their agents, even at the cost of their cherished freedom and sacred democracy?

In this context we are astonished to note that even U Thant, whose so called 'peace proposals and negotiations' that once merely reflected the other voice of the imperialists has recently changed his position to a great extent, but in our country, the torch bearers of freedom and democracy have sold their souls to the U.S. imperialists and their puppets.

In this connection we cannot but condemn the pro-imperialist policy of Govt. of India. Being a member of the International Control Commission, India had the solemn duty to observe whether the agreements of the Geneva Conference were violated by any party or not. But we regret to note that when this was violated unilaterally by the Yankees, India kept silent. Not only that India has neither declared U. S. A. as the aggressor without ambiguity and euphemism nor she has tried to enforce the withdrawal of the American army unconditionally which would have been the only justified and bounden duty for the Chairman of the International Control Commission; but instead of doing that she has invented 'foreign interferences' in this liberation struggle and thus is trying to find an excuse in favour of the imperialist aggression by bracketing both the aggressor and the aggressed together.

But all these dilly-dallings must be stopped. And we know that this can only be stopped by creating a very strong mass movement against the monopoly rulers of the country. We earnestly call the

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# Vietnam's Struggle is Our Struggle

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people of India to organise militant mass movements on this issue throughout the whole country.

## **Soviet Stand—a Critical review.**

Lastly we think that the callousness of the present Soviet leadership should not go uncriticised. We regret to note that the weak policy of the present Soviet leaders has helped America much, may be indirectly, in launching and continuing such kinds of aggression and devastation all over Vietnam. Without entering into a detail analysis of the revolutionary significance of the peaceful co-existence in the present context (since we apprehend that the present Soviet leadership lacks adequate level of theoretical attainment to understand scientifically and objectively), we simply ask them, 'does peaceful co-existence signify that the imperialists will be allowed scot-free to launch ruthless aggression and go unpunished, violating all kinds of international charters, agreements and the socialist leaders will simply express their regret, merely condemn it in a 'formal manner' and shed crocodile tears for the people facing the naked butchery of the imperialists? Is it essential that the Vietnamese people ought to face such unprecedented onslaught by the imperialists when the emergence of U. S. S. R. as the most powerful country in the world from the stand point of military strength which has been recognised as an accepted truth even by the Pentagon high officials? Once it was unequivocally declared by the leaders of U. S. S. R. that any sort of attack on any socialist country by any power would be considered as an attack on U.S.S.R. and necessary steps should be taken to frustrate the attack. Not only, that even the Soviet leaders disapproved of the proposal of manufacturing nuclear weapons by China, on the

plea that the sole responsibility of defending the socialist camp from the attack of the imperialist powers lies with U. S. S. R. and so no socialist country ought to feel the necessity of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Now it is established truth that U.S. imperialism has not only attacked North Vietnam, a Socialist State, but is also carrying on brutal fascist onslaught on the people of Vietnam. We know that Soviet Union has strongly protested against and condemned the U.S. actions in Vietnam; this may be taken for granted that Soviet Union is helping the people of Vietnam by supplying arms, ammunitions and other war materials at least occasionally if not regularly. But still we cannot but put a pertinent question before the leaders of the Soviet Union.

If the U.S. imperialists would have attacked the mainland of U.S.S.R. would then the Soviet leaders do nothing more and keep themselves satisfied with what they are doing now when a socialist country has been attacked by the imperialist power? We think and perhaps any sensible man should agree with us that they would have done something more!

Now if anybody comments, after observing this role of the leaders of U.S.S.R. in Vietnam that the policy of the Soviet leaders smacks of petti-nationalism—then how can he be blamed for this?

Lastly another important aspect of the issue deserves some discussion. Though well convinced that so long the socialist camp is more powerful the imperialists would not dare to take any risk of nuclear war, the Americans with a view to blackmail the Soviet leaders have tried hard through their propaganda machinery to create an utter confusion by inflicting in

their brain the idea that if Soviet Russia retaliates an sort of American aggression over any country, or if they try to frustrate in the actual sense of the term any attempt of the Americans to continue the local wars, which is being launched by the U.S. imperialists for their own interest it might lead to a nuclear war, which would ultimately result in the complete destruction of the civilisation. Now to see whether their cherished aim is fulfilled the Americans have tested twice, once in Cuba and then in Tankin.

Now by judging the weak policies adopted by the Soviet leaders in both these cases and also taking into consideration the present weak policy of the Soviet leaders, on the issue of Vietnam, we have to conclude, of course painfully, that the Americans have got their reward for the hard labour, i.e the Soviet leaders have become victims of the psychology of nuclear blackmailing and out of a fear complex of nuclear war, they are pursuing a peaceful policy of appeasement and capitulation towards U.S.A.

We note with deep regret that, when the question is of organising the peace loving people of the world under the leadership of the Socialist Camp, to thrust peace upon the bellicose imperialist powers, and prevent them from interfering into the domestic affairs of other countries, the socialist leaders of U. S. S. R. have degraded their ideological standard to such an extent owing to their failure to understand the revolutionary significance of the theory of peaceful co-existence that they have become victims of nuclear blackmailing of U.S. propaganda machinery and hence pursuing a policy of peaceful capitulation even when a socialist country has been

attacked by the said imperialists.

We think there is still time and the soviet leaders should understand the gravity of the situation and act accordingly. They should realise that under their leadership, a glorious advanced socialist nation, instead of giving a glorious and heroic leadership in the liberation struggle of the different struggling and freedom loving nations of the world, is now facing utter humiliation and disgrace even in the eye of the freedom loving people of the world.

We think that there is still time and the leaders should realise that neither the people nor the history will forgive them.

We realise that it is not a question of mere helping the Vietnamese people with some conventional weapons with even rockets or missiles, it is more the question of an attitude that ought to be taken by the socialist leaders towards the imperialism of the present era.

We urge upon them to keep themselves firm to their own declared policy, and to take the most strong and stern attitude towards the U. S. imperialists. They should be firm in their approach and should categorically give an ultimatum to the imperialists and their agents to stop this brazen aggression immediately and they should also clearly state that if the Yankee fascists ignore the ultimatum and still continue their naked and the brutal onslaught then socialist countries would retaliate it with all their might. They should unequivocally state that if U. S. does not immediately stop this brutal

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